226 Fish poison (yaoʻha) was made from a white
278 flower which was pulverized and thrown over quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called tʻlʻl, was mentioned by M.G.

223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

> Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.
>
> They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.
>
> Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called soʻpasʻn saʻsa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (puʻmuk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

[418] Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´y:t tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´sy:n, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
278 were many others which must have been well
757 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu, translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´h:n tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´:n tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iy:n). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

[P. 359]

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times;
usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural
power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the
heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a
Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung
on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and
wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these.
It "caught the sickness" which then would be
squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibi-
tion. When curing, she sat in front of her
patient and held onto his head, meanwhile call-
ing on her dream helpers. She "went around to
fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two
beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came
and stood at each side of her feet. They told
her to ask God what she should do. Soon a
little baby came and sat near her; it was suck-
ing its fingers; she could hear it crawling
about in the leaves. No one came to help her.
Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob
Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of
the neck and at each temple and sucked. She
got better soon. A girl there cooked some
atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had
measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent
for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with
his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked
like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He
cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She
recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony
Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929).
The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of
the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered
from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwas.
He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow
and sucked out blood and a little white pointed
object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors
753 is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
the shamans using it are distinguished by any
special term. The poison itself is called añta-
wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu).
Poisoning is thought to operate by means of
actual contact with poisonous substances which
may be put on any object which the victim is
likely to touch, or the poison may be adminis-
tered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisi-
ble. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling
of parts (thought to have been touched by the
poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

278 753 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar; this was called mɨts aⁿtá´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɨ´nɨl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɨpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated objects and burned them--for instance, a person in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by tɨpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

[787] 828

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

[683]

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɨpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Port Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɨpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

278 753 that T:pwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha'tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai 'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki 'at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A'nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wep:s, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[99] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

[99] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

[P. 52a] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu. [131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--P.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When P.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. P.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter P.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called y‹´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y● ● 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.---This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

1: Gayton E-8 (1925-1930) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.)
the handle [more probably a part of the handle]
could be detached entirely if one was working
under bushes, but this does not agree with
other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
[237] tibia (to'koi) were lashed on one end, and into
these were fitted bone points (pi'če tu'h'na)
about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet
of "play" leashed the point to the main handle.
The point was essentially a toggle when freed
from its housing, the attaching cord usually
being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing
with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University
of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422)
has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is
3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3
inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is per-
haps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid
against the middle of this and probably lashed
around several times and then is fastened to
the metal by a dark substance which may be
asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some
mineral substance which looks like feldspar
from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-
product from the melting of the gum.) The
length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183]
Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used
were about finger thickness and 3 feet long.
They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into
the weir and facing upstream were set cylindri-
cal baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18
inches in diameter; as many as three of these
might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry,
men, women, and children would wade downstream
driving fish ahead of them into the basket
traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left over-
night, when sufficient fish would have ac-
cumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta'dad, was a plant which grew
near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sift-
ing baskets, and shaken out over the surface of
the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as
they jumped about near the surface they were
grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large
openwork baskets. The other plant, ya'oha,
"grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put
in the fishing hole. The person who performed
this service was facetiously referred to as a
doctor (añpu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish became stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

Diving for fish was an indulgence of an able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad), lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ñtau) were designated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the soaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. [437] Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

757 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.

278 Ša''apoš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with Ša'apoš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Ṭaka'ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

Ṭo'pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka'watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta'wok was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te'semui'sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipit has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

Medicines

●278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono^{i}." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 183 a] Chuckchansi

278 824 757 area was covered with dry wormweed which was then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[36]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 482 A man could carry one deer by means of a tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

[36] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 251 The fish were dried at the camp. The implication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around [482] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 278 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them. [25] 252 Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then 252 251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts N529
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276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [164] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

276 N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. 323 Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 324 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba''om, the pipe Sokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.---Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink ●278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834 171] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Tumana and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul'wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (♩♩♩). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
756 kill any animal of that breed. One actual animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
556 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
278 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
[787] living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at O'Neals who made rain.[345] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[345] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 757 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was this practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 192

Buckeye	*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
Blackberry	*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden	*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor	*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet	*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter	*Shup.*
Fern, Common	*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle	Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

278 ●
192

Fungus, Indian Paint	*Trah'-tah In-o'-poke.*
Fungus, Large mushroom shaped	*Caw-ho'-mik.* Dried and then stewed.
Grass, dry powdered salt	*Al'-leet,* or *Ah'-dit.* Eaten as a seasoning and as candy.
Gooseberry, prickly	*Shaw'-ship in-wah'-yeh.*
Gooseberry, red	*Tong'-e*
Grape, wild	*In'-suh naw'-tip*
Lettuce, wild (Miner's Lettuce)	*Haw'-dum.* Eaten raw with salt.
Lichen, stag horn	*Puh-tri'-chuh*
Lucidum, Ganodenna	*Shok-nud'-uh.*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow.* Used for sweet wine.
Milkweed, tall	*Hung'-uts hung'-uts.* Used for chewing gum.
Nightshade, purple	*Paw-mo'-i-ush.*
Onion, wild	*Sung'-co.* Eaten raw.
Rush, scouring	*Suk'-kaw sick-id'-it*
Strawberry, wild	*Dum-tin'-in mah'-min.* Eaten raw.
Salvia Columbarial	*Kaw'-wah.*
Tobacco, Indian	*Sahw'-kaw.* Smoked and eaten.
Tree, Alder fruit	*Hi-eh'-nen.* Eaten raw, or dried.
Yucca	*Kah'-wid.* Tender shoot baked or roasted.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

> She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets ăĭtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyemal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."
>
> If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no'-eh.	pūng'-o-eh.	poan'-oikh.
Three.	so'-pin.	so-o'-pin.	so-o'-pin.
Four.	ha'-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih'.	ha-to-poan'-oikh.
Five.	yit'-sen-it.	yi-tsing'-ut.	yi-tsin'-et.
Six.	cha'-lip-eh.	chu'-di-peh.	tso'-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm'-chil.	noam'-chin.	noam'-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas'.	mu'-nūsh.	mu'-nus.
Nine.	se'-po-noat.	no'-nip.	so'-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi'-oh.	ti'-i-hoh.	ti'-i-hoh.

On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days of the week. They are these: Wu-lo'-a, Po'-ni-o, So'-pi-o, Hots'-po, Ya'-ti-so, Chol'-po, Hu-lo'-sa.

Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a